4. Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Amatenango del Valle

794
534
291
292

FIG. 7—CARGO OFFICIALS, AMATENANGO DEL VALLE. Note ceremonial hats and drum with which church functions are announced. (Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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pyramid is complete, wood is laid against the pots in a tepee formation. When the sawmill in the vicinity was in operation, flat boards—scraps of cut lengths—were used, but now only logs are available. Corn husks or dry straw are stuffed between the planks or logs. When a large number of pots are being fired, the men usually help at the final stages to remove the charred planks with poles. If men are not available, the women of the household often call upon their neighbors for help. In this operation, the women wear sandals and hats for protection from the heat. When the pots are cooled, the women, sometimes with the help of the men, stack them in net bags, six to a net with straw protecting the pots.

About fifteen year ago, a kiln was introduced by the government in the interest of conserving wood. Those who tried it claim that the pottery did not fire well and that many of the pots were broken. I.N.I. (the Instituto Nacional Indigenista) planned to introduce an improved kiln, and while most of the people we questioned expressed a willingness to try it, the proposal was never put into action.

The men do most of the marketing of pottery. Loads of one or two dozen may be taken by bus or truck to San Cristóbal or to Comitán. When there is large-scale production throughout the community, as occurs just before major fiestas, truckers come from the neighboring town of Teopisca to contract for delivery.

The amount of pottery produced in households varies with the following factors:

1. Household composition: (a) Number of women in the family. If there is only one woman, very little or no pottery is produced because of the demands of domestic duties. Households with two or more women are able to sustain the ideal output of at least a dozen water jugs a week (I use "ideal" here to suggest their notion of what they produce when asked to guess. As Fig. 2 indicates, this varies considerably during the year.) (b) Age of women and ages of children. Older women over sixty do not independently undertake pottery production. They may assist in washing pots with corn gruel or making the neck, mouth, and handles, but they are unable to endure the harder task of collecting clay. A woman with infants under two years of age makes little pottery if

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have recently sought additional lands in the ejido of Brindis to meet these minimal requirements. This preference for expanding subsistence agriculture to hiring out as laborers is the best index to the persistence of traditional economic pursuits.

Farmers who do not have a cash crop in wheat may be forced to sell corn even when there is no surplus. Because they usually need the cash as soon as they harvest their crop, they must sell when the prices are low. Thus their consumption needs exacerbate the disadvantage they face in the market.

Clothing, whether traditional or modern in style, requires cash outlays. Women have kept the traditional costume while men are modifying their clothing. Even when they go to hot country, older women wear the heavy cotton skirt bound with a thick sash and topped by an embroidered blouse; some younger women have adopted the long cotton dirndl skirt and peasant blouse. A white cotton shawl is added for ceremonial events or for warmth in the evening. All of their clothing is either bought or made of materials woven on looms in Comitán or San Bartolomé. The navy blue skirt, which they say is black, and the red and yellow sash are sold for 40 to 50 pesos by Ladina vendors who come to town. The blouse is made from two meters of heavy white cotton sold in the local stores or in Teopisca and San Cristóbal. Most prefer the more expensive cotton woven on bed looms in San Bartolomé, but it is not always available. They embroider the wide bands of yellow and red around the neckline with embroidery floss sold in the local store. The fringed shawl from Comitán is also sold locally, but is often purchased during the annual fiestas in the town. These items are replaced every two or three years, depending on the wealth of the family. The newer clothing is worn on ceremonial occasions, and the older clothing is worn every day. Women wear sandals and hats for protection only when they are firing pottery. For jewelry they wear bead necklaces, sometimes with crosses attached. Their hair is braided with ribbons for fiestas, or simply left hanging when they work.

Men buy a woolen jacket called *kotonču,* which is brought illegally from the Department of Huehuetenango, Guatemala, where it is made,

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and sold in Comitán. It is the same as the costume worn by the Indians of that area. A similar garment is made in Comitán but is considered inferior to the contraband product. Shirts and wrapped trousers made of coarse cotton are stitched and sold in Teopisca. The trousers are bound with a red woven sash. These items make up the modified costume worn by most of the boys and men. Men over sixty wear a long, coarsely woven shirt with a slashed neck made in San Bartolomé. This is caught at the waist with a woven band and worn over short trousers. In the evening or during ceremonies the kotonču is always worn. The older men wear high-backed sandals attached to rubber-tire soles with thongs, while younger men wear the *huarache* of crossed leather bands secured to a rubber-tire sole found in many parts of Mexico. Increasingly men are taking on the western clothing worn by Ladinos—the belted cotton trousers, shirt, and underclothing sold in the local store and in the neighboring towns. In 1957, only a half-dozen men, all of them former students in the boarding school established in Cárdenas' term of office, wore this dress, but today over twenty middle-aged men and dozens of youths in their teens wear it. Those who wear modern clothing have substituted a zippered "air-force" jacket for the kotonču. All men wear factory-made straw hats, under which, on ceremonial occasions, they wear a red bandanna bound over the forehead and tied at the nape of the neck. A high-crowned palm hat with black designs, ordered by the alfereces when they enter office, used to be woven by a few specialists; now only one man can make them.

The changing styles in men's clothing reflect three stages of acculturation. The older style worn by elders is said to be the costume worn by the ancestors who live in the cave. Since all of the items are and have for some time been purchased from outside the town, the changing pattern of consumption—the change from modified peasant to ladino-style clothing—has not affected local production.

Girl's wear a machine-embroidered peasant blouse and a mid-calf gathered skirt made of cotton or rayon and purchased in the neighboring towns. They change to the woman's costume when they reach their teens. Boys wear the same clothing as their fathers, except for the old costume. Table 12 shows the cost for these items.

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Tzo?ontahal

Change of Officials

The degree of integration of the civil and religious wings of the hierarchy can be described behaviorally. The following acts (App. 1) indicate this structural feature. 621* 794 182

Q. 24. The civil officials kneel and "measure their noses" as they enter the townhall in deference to the banners. [788]

Q. 27. Sacred objects, such as the holy banners of the *kobrarias*, are present on the table in the townhall as the officers take the oath of office. Officials carry rosaries as they accept oath and wear them in the procession to the church. [778]

Q. 28. The alfereces are present in the townhall to witness the ceremony. As bearers of the four major saints of the town, their role is primarily defined in a religious context.

Q. 41. Officials go to the church immediately following their procession in the plaza to pray for health to carry out their responsibilities. [782]

Q. 48. The religious officials are present in church on New Year's day to witness the arrival of new officials of the civil wing.

The alfereces link the two wings of the hierarchy in the following acts: 794 182

Q. 36. They carry the sacred banners to the townhall on the day of the inauguration.

Chart 9. They lead the parade of new officials of the civil wing.

Q. 28. They witness ("look at") the inauguration of the civil officials in the townhall.

Q. 36. In emerging from the townhall, they bow and incline their banners first before the townhall, then before the church. [788]

In the inauguration of the religious officials the only act uniting officials of the two wings of the hierarchies is that of counting the money (App. 2, Q. 90) when the town treasurer and síndico assist the church officials. The integration of the civil and religious wings in Tzo?ontahal is asymmetrical. The church officials as a group are involved in the civil inauguration, but the civil officials are only peripherally involved in the religious inauguration. 621* 794 182 [624]

Another behavioral basis for stating the dimensions of the civil and religious integration is found in the replication of symbols and acts in each inauguration. In taking the oath, the term *yič huramentu* is used in both settings. The staff as symbol of civil office has its counterpart in the candles handed over to the mayordomos. In both ceremonies, officials of the townhall and of the church wear red kerchiefs and carry rosaries when receiving the oath of office. 621* 794 182 782 788 [641] [292] [293]

Replication of behavior in both civil and religious 000

[P. 220—B]

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APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
*62 124 796	13. What time does he begin to raise the officials?		He gets up early about 6 A.M.	
624	14. How does the fourth regidor raise the other officials?	First he goes to get the third regidor. Then they go to the second. The three go to collect the first. After all are together, the four go to the house of the first judge	The fourth regidor goes to the house of the third regidor. They leave and go to the house of the second regidor, then to the house of the first regidor. Then they go to the síndico's house. Leave and go to the house of the judge	
*62 124 796 693	15. How do the judges join together?	First the two assistant judges call on the second judge. Then the three go to the house of the first judge	The assistant judge for Ahk'olnantik goes to raise assistant for Alannantik. The two go to the house of the second judge. Then they go to the house of the first judge	I arrived at 9:30 at the house of the first alcalde. Present were the following (see Chart 3)
[293]	16. What do the judges do in the house of the first judge?	They drink liquor. They await the arrival of the four regidores	They drink liquor	Before serving liquor the first judge gave the benediction for the liquor (*patʔot'an yič smahtanil*) with the first *nakawane*. His godchild *ahijado shalal mupune*, of marriage, and his brother-in-law Lucian Kut poured liquor. He served cigarettes. Two liters of liquor were drunk here before going to house of president
[292] [576]	17. What do they do then?	They go to the house of the president (see Chart 4)	Go to the house of the president	Assembled company prepared to leave at 10:10. The first judge puts on his plain red kerchief. The assistant judges put on flowered red kerchiefs. First judge said goodbye to the *nakawane*. This formal adieu, the *spat lok'yoʔt'an*. Regidores stood up and came out. Then the assistant judge arrived at the house of President 10:30. (Chart 6)
*62 124 796 693 576	18. What do they do when they enter the house of the president?	The first judge gives the *spat yoʔt'an* with the first nakawane	The first regidor gives the *patʔot'an*	First judge speaks with *meʔil k'op* who stood at door of inner room. The *nakawanetik* bowed and kissed hands with the first and second alcaldes
[525] [539]	19. How do they give the *spat yoʔt'anik* at his house the president?	They sing what they will do for the year	Holy evening, mamtat, your health. God how does He see you, mamtat. You are alive speak God holy evening. Behind your heart no illness I hear this holy evening.	(See Chart 6 for seating at house of president)